/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
•[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a
• fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
231 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
262 are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[439] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of
[437] the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/151 cont./

123
431

/footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuí, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

• 437

If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

[123]

18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blow-gun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

/151 cont./

437

/footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí); and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

593
797

The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

437
797
[192]

Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister [244] [437] and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act [273] as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular [261] obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a [592] connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, [835] though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since [836] the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange [583] marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relation-
583 ship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bar-
583 gaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen
58 that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love [593] magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be [593] counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *máipena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *máipena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *máipena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Máipena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *máipena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

One informant explained that the feathers have power that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during ceremonial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power although they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course, the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the handle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But whatever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

HEADMANSHIP

The headmanship, whether of *halbókü* status or *kenámi upákü*, normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

hensive study of these designs all over South America. Certain trends might be found, early migrations might be illustrated by particular styles. The study might also tell us something of the character of these people. It could show the course of their migrations and possibly even date them, though, unlike the cave art of Europe, it is impossible to date individual drawings. But if the diversity of the trends of art in the small area we visited is any indication, a survey of the whole would seem an almost superhuman task.

Among the highlanders artistic expression had less of the foresters' spontaneity. Their art had a particular purpose. The coloured stripes and markings on their cotton mantles showed the lineage or family of the wearer. The Kogi, we were told, had gold ornaments, face-masks and even feather head-dresses in their temples. But they were kept hidden as objects of religious ceremonial. The Motilon found expression in the bindings of their arrow-heads, but these, again, were probably once tribal marks used for identification.

The foresters seemed to decorate everything: the patterned basket-weaves of the Noanamá, their bead caps and gourd designs; the musical instruments, the clay or charcoal designs on the front of a Tukano *maloca*, and their gay festival paraphernalia. Here there was a more natural outflow of creativeness, which had become inhibited among the highlanders. There were a few signs of outside influence, yet it was essentially traditional art. The head-dress we brought back to the British Museum was compared with one obtained on the Caquetá by the botanist Richard Spruce over a hundred years ago. It is impossible to tell the difference. Here as in all Indian art is evidence of the supernatural, the power of an unfathomed spirit world. There is none of the triumph of mind over matter, none of the intellectualism we find in European art with the evolution of classicism and the baroque. In this sense even the work of the Maya or the Aztec was still primitive.

The forest dweller's art has the spontaneity of a child, yet his approach is both sophisticated and intelligent. He will weave a pattern for a basket because the idea appeals to him and shape a paddle with the finish of a craftsman and the design of an artist.

The Indian is something of a connoisseur. This is the result of a natural critical sense. The Tukano would never accept cloth, fish-hooks or beads from us without a thorough previous inspection. The colour of the cloth is of prime importance, its strength would be tested, as would be that of the fish-hooks and nylon line, and the test for a good bead was to place it between the teeth – to see if it cracked! Pottery or baskets we had obtained by barter

LEFT: *A Motilon playing an axe-head flute.* RIGHT: *A child at his mother's breast; in front of them is ground maize.* [See p. 182-B]

6t Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

123
437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the
[777] deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals